l:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
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is usually prepared as *clemole*, boiled and served with a sauce of *chiles*. This is a favorite breakfast dish. The wealthier and more sophisticated buy baker's bread for the morning and the evening meals, but eat *tortillas* too. The afternoon meal is much the same; it is likely to be the heaviest meal of the day. Then may be eaten lima beans toasted, or *tortas*, or perhaps chick-peas. Coffee or chocolate, and less commonly milk, may be drunk at any meal.

Intimately, when only the family is present, all sit together on the ground beside the hearth and eat. (Of course the well-to-do use tables.) If male company is present, the man sits with the guests and they are served by his wife, who eats alone. After breakfast the man goes to the field, or to his workbench; the wife resumes her domestic labors. The last sound at night, when all other sounds but the braying of *burros* and the barking of dogs have failed, is the slap-slap of the *tortillera* and the subdued, wet, rubbing sound of the maize-grinder.

A large share of the woman's life and interests is taken up with the *metate*, that ancient grinding-stone that has not changed in form or function for thousands of years. For some ten years a small steam mill has been in operation in Tepoztlán;[1] to this the women may bring their maize to be ground. But that most of the maize is, nevertheless, ground on domestic *metates* is due not only to the fact that mill-ground maize

[1] This is owned and operated not by a Tepoztecan but by a man from Xochimilco, Federal District.

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is more expensive, but to the fact that a woman's status (except among the few sophisticated) is determined in no small degree by her skill and industry at the grinding-stone. She takes pride in her grinding. Differences in skill are tasted in the finished *tortilla;* men even claim to identify the grinding of their wives in the *tortilla* they eat. A woman known to be incompetent or negligent at the *metate* is not a desirable wife.[1] One of the diseases recognized in Tepoztlán is *tlancuatlatzihuiztli*, "laziness of the knees." The swelling of the knees which signalizes this affliction is due, not to too much grinding, but to too little; it is thus shown that the sufferer has neglected her work. A woman grinds two or three times a day. On ordinary days the grinding for an average household requires about six hours. But if the men of the household are to go away to work on some distant *hacienda* where, nevertheless, they must feed themselves, the women may be up much of the night grinding the maize for the *itacates* and *clacloyos* which they will take along. And before a *fiesta* the entire night may be spent in grinding for the festal dishes, not only maize for the *tamales*, but also squash seeds and *pitos*.

With grinding, cooking, occasional sewing, a little caring for the children, and finally marketing, the list of practical activities of the woman is about exhausted. Marketing is done every day. Salt, *chiles*, sugar,

[1] Frederick Starr (*Notes upon the Ethnography of Southern Mexico*, p. 35) says that among the Tlaxcalans a bride before marriage passes through a formal ordeal before the women of the neighborhood. This is called *temaitalizli*, "trying the hand." She is required to grind and to make *tortillas*.

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"Oh, no, I have no copy-book." To know and to be able to sing the current songs is a common ambition of young boys. It is an advantage to be able to write. A girl of fourteen of the largely illiterate *barrio* of Los Reyes was the only one of her family to have a knowledge of writing. Although *corridos* are a part of a man's world, not a woman's, her elder brother was forced to ask her to help him in writing down a song he wanted to learn. Her prestige was correspondingly increased.

At the same time the supremacy of these local songs is not unchallenged. Songs of the city are occasionally heard in Tepoztlán. There are several phonographs, and these aid in making city songs popular. The songs of urban Mexico are much like our sentimental songs. As the urbanization of Tepoztlán slowly progresses, the city songs will become more usual; there will be a shift of emphasis from folk song to popular song.[1]

[1] One convention of city sentiment prevails in Tepoztlán. As elsewhere in Mexico, it is customary to give a person on his birthday colored postcards depicting white blonde women and men in European attire in attitudes of banal affection, amid turtledoves and flowers. These cards are as customary as the *mañanitas* on birthday mornings.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

during the busiest parts of the agricultural cycle are considered a good number. The relations between employer and employee are generally characterized by a spirit of mutual cooperation as well as by a recognition of equality of status. The employer usually works side by side with his workers, addressing them in *tú* if they are his own age and in *Vd.* if they are older. In most cases a *peón* works for another only if he receives good treatment, and frequently feels that by working he is conferring a favor upon the employer. It is common for a laborer to quit a job if the employer is too imperious, demanding, or vigilant. Even in Cuernavaca, Tepoztecan workers have a reputation of being "too independent" and sensitive to slights.

There are few full-time domestic servants in Tepoztlán. Women may be hired to assist in households during fiestas, at the birth of a child, or when the mother is seriously ill. Several well-to-do families hire a laundress regularly. The absence of a servant class is in striking contrast with European rural villages and is evidence of the essential classlessness of Tepoztecan society. When domestic help is needed, it is common to call upon relatives and friends. There is a reluctance to hire maid-servants because it reduces the privacy of the home. When it is unavoidable, servants are sought from among the other villages of the municipio rather than within Tepoztlán itself. Conversely, women consider it humiliating to be servants. Orphans or the daughters of the very poorest families seek such employment, and they prefer to work in Cuernavaca or Mexico City rather than in their own village.

EDUCATION

Less than twenty years ago the distinction between the *cultos* (educated) and the *ignorantes* (ignorant) was based on the ability to read and write. With the spread of education this no longer holds. The graduates of the local school and even of the secondary schools are no longer considered *cultos*. The status of *culto* is now applied primarily to lawyers, doctors, and dentists, who live in the city, and to a few local residents who dress in city clothes, write a good letter, run a typewriter, use big or unusual words, and are intelligent and well informed. A *culto* does not necessarily have to be citified or schooled in modern ways, for one of the best known *cultos* is an old candlemaker famous for his study of Náhuatl and for his skill in speaking that ancient language. *Cultos* generally receive respect and admiration, although they are not above criticism if they have undesirable personality traits. For example, one of Redfield's principal informants was described by many of my informants as a man who was *culto* but who was also *chiflado* (lightheaded).

POLITICS

The *políticos* are the local leaders who are active in politics, and as such have a special status in the village. They have many "friends" and *compadres*, and have influence with local and state officials. They generally know how to talk well, and often act as representatives for the more retiring and humble villagers in their dealings with state or federal agencies.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

554 571 576 195 person in a respect status has certain powers, authority, and privileges and at the same time may not be insulted, criticized, or attacked. Respect status may stem from superior social and economic position, advanced age, education, or political power. Respect status may also stem from a specific, formal respect-relationship established between two individuals, such as that between parents and children, in-laws, and *compadres*. All inter-personal relations fall into three respect categories, that of reciprocal respect in which both parties address each other in *Vd.*, that of superior-subordinate respect-relations in which one party is addressed in *Vd.* and the other in the familiar *tú*, and the intimate relation in which both parties address each other in *tú*.

The *Vd.-Vd.* relation of mutual respect is perhaps the safest and therefore the ideal relationship in Tepoztlán. It implies recognition of equality of status, and each party is guaranteed respectful behavior and the fulfillment of certain formal obligations by the other. It involves no further intimacy or personal compromise and emphasizes mutual reserve and constraint, which well suits the Tepoztecan temperament. This relationship is however the least frequent in Tepoztlán, being limited to *compadres, consuegros* (the respective parents of married couples), and adults who are strangers to one another. Very rarely, a husband and wife may maintain an *Vd.-Vd.* relationship indicating the highest degree of mutual respect. [608] [593]

Some of the more ambitious younger people in the village now seek to establish an *Vd.-Vd.* relationship between themselves and older people on the basis of superior education or professional standing. Thus, a young man or woman who is a teacher desires to be addressed respectfully rather than familiarly by the parents of his pupils, partly to maintain authority and partly to obtain recognition of personal achievement. In this sense there is a present trend to extend the number of *Vd.-Vd.* relationships and to approach more nearly the situation which occurs in the cities. [555] [178]

The *Vd.-tú* relationship establishes a clear-cut status differentiation in terms of superordinate-subordinate. For the person in the dominant position, this is the most satisfying and preferred relationship. With the exception of the possibility of insubordination or hostility on the part of the submissive individual, this respect status is a very secure one. Age and relative social position are the essential determinants in the use of *Vd.-tú*. All children are addressed in *tú*, and all persons use *Vd.* when speaking to someone older than themselves. Thus, one is in an *Vd.-tú* relationship with parents, grandparents, aunts, uncles, older brothers and sisters, cousins, and all older non-relatives. [561] [602]

The respect of children for parents and older relatives is traditionally expressed by kissing their hands in greeting and each evening when the church bell rings. This practice is dying out and only rarely occurs in the presence of a stranger. In many families there is also resistance to addressing older brothers and sisters in *Vd.* and to giving them the respect and obedience that should accompany it. The number of cases in which children address parents in the familiar form is rapidly increasing. In the recent past, when there was a greater age differential between [593] [178]

3:Lewis E-5 (1943-1957) 1960
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in attitudes and values and in the quality of interpersonal relations. It is too early to tell how deeply these changes have affected the ethos and character of the villagers, but all signs point in the direction of more profound changes to follow. In 1956, Tepoztecans seemed on the whole more outgoing and friendly and less bothered by the presence of outsiders. Children were noisier and smiled more; they were as apt to run toward as away from a stranger. Indeed, they begged tourists for centavos. Small groups of unchaperoned adolescent girls laughing and talking together were not unusual sights, and occasionally a village girl might be seen walking side by side with a boy in broad daylight. In general, the villagers were more accepting of their sophisticated members and provincialism seemed to be on the wane. There was more competition for jobs and scholarships and in general display.

That Tepoztecans have more drive and ambition for self-improvement is obvious. The young people are restless and have found the courage to leave the village to look for better opportunities. They are making greater demands on their parents for education, and they have more confidence in and more ability to cooperate with people outside the family over longer periods of time. Friendship not based on formal reciprocal relationships has become increasingly important; *compadrazgo* has assumed a new significance in providing connections and social advantages. Material success and a higher standard of living are consciously admired and worked for and the motivation to hide wealth is weaker. Respect has come to be based more and more on wealth and social status. Education imparts higher status; a young man or woman who has a teacher's certificate expects to be treated more respectfully by his or her elders. The middle class, especially, feel that status is also gained by discarding folk beliefs and practices and becoming more Catholic.

It is apparent, then, that Tepoztlán has made great strides ahead in the past fifteen years. The changes have been uneven, however, and not all the sectors of the population have equally benefited. Faced with limited agricultural resources, low yields, an absence of irrigation, and little prospect of solving their agricultural problems through mechanization, the villagers have by-passed their agrarian problem and have instead become dependent on new occupations and on jobs outside the village.

Most of the changes in the village are enjoyed by the middle economic group which even in 1943 had shown the most initiative and interest in raising its level of living. This group has doubled in size and now constitutes about 25 percent of the total population. Moreover, it is no longer merely an economic group; it is emerging rather as a true middle class, consisting of professionals, white-collar employees, and self-employed artisans and shopkeepers whose values and goals have come to differ substantially from those of the peasantry. The sharpening cleavage between the middle and lower economic groups, between peasant and nonpeasant, is perhaps the most far-reaching and significant change in the village.

Although the lower economic group is proportionately smaller than it was in 1943, it still constitutes the great majority of the villagers—approximately 65 percent. Our data suggest that this group has become even poorer, both because of inflation and because its members have been deprived of a tradi-